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## AT TURNING-POINT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

— After Khrushchev's Visit to the United States —

by Đorđe JERKOVIĆ

SO MANY articles and commentaries, full of guesses, hopes, doubts and expectations, were published in connection with Khrushchev's visit to America during its course alone, that quite a library could be compiled from them. In this respect, nothing that happened during past decades can be compared with this event. And not at all surprisingly. But it is also understandable why all the guesses have generally amounted to one thing: that time alone will show the scope and quality of the results of this visit and the manner in which it will affect relations between the two greatest world powers, as well as international relations as a whole. The visit has just ended — it offered countless facts and left rich impressions — but its working out took place to a large extent behind closed doors, in strict privacy, and it is therefore not easy to sum up its results and draw a balance sheet of such an important event so soon.

This is not the only reason why this visit and its effect upon the development in the world cannot be fully grasped and appraised in their entirety. Judging what was readily reiterated on a number of occasions,

especially from the American side, this visit was planned as a meeting without a precise schedule or working agenda and as anything but a meeting at which definite talks would take place with resulting concrete arrangements or agreements. Instead, it was often repeated, the meeting would be restricted exclusively to the two sides' acquainting themselves with one another, with each other's positions and attitudes on questions which divided them. In line with this view, to have talks of a different character and in particular to reach possible agreements and arrangements on outstanding questions, it is necessary to have both a better knowledge of each other's views, intentions and motives, and the presence and co-operation of other powers, particularly the principal allies. These are not likely to wish, as they themselves indicated and let it be known, to stand aside and be confronted with a fait accompli as a result of arrangements between the two biggest among them.

Of course, one is not obliged to look at the past visit precisely in this way and to take for granted that it was one hundred per cent what it had been decided or sincerely wished and intended to be, on either one



or the other side, on the eve of Khrushchev's arrival in the United States. Likewise, only the future will show whether or not both sides or either of them fully adhered to the restrictions imposed upon or demanded from them by considerations or interests of third countries. According to some information, during the initial exchange of opinions Khrushchev suggested that the Soviet Union would appreciate it very much if the United States, that is, the West, were now to recognize de facto the existence of two Germanies, which the West had persistently refused to do in spite of the fact that this was rather senseless. Only a few days later, the United States published a rather ambiguous announcement on that question, and when Bonn became nervous and asked for an urgent explanation, Herter supplied it in a form which, in its peculiar way, reaffirmed a certain novelty in the United States' attitude to this key problem of relations between the East and the West.

For the moment, it is nevertheless more appropriate to accept the hypothesis that basically the visit had not been intended to bring about, and that consequently it did not bring about, any arrangement between the two statesmen on any question whatever, except perhaps in that of the procedure for the coming two-power meetings or for a summit meeting, etc. The Soviet Union has in fact stated in advance its readiness to take part in such meetings, while the United States has free hands in that respect, particularly with regard to Great Britain and also to their other allies, with a somewhat moderate reserve coming from Paris. There is therefore much ground for doubting that after this visit the United States will persevere in its rigid policy on a summit meeting, particularly as a possible withdrawal from it has been facilitated by the atmosphere created by Khrushchev's visit, which evidently shows that a summit meeting can be beneficial and that its holding is justified.

However, even if no progress has been made beyond these comparatively minor and mainly technical arrangements and the visit has been restricted to a general manifestation, the acquaintance with and setting forth of each other's stands and views, it has still been a successful and justified undertaking which in itself marks a considerable progress in terms of relaxation in the world, and gradual elimination of the cold-war atmosphere and the cold war itself.

It would perhaps be too much to say and think that the poor mutual knowledge of countries in the contemporary world, and particularly of the two principal powers, is a very significant or even predominant cause of mistrust and misunderstandings between them, or, in general, a very important cause of their policies which are known to be mainly responsible for the present state of affairs in the world, for the cold war and the arms race. But it seems rather certain that the lack of contact between them for a number of years, and still more the separation of these countries from the rest of the world by their peculiar kinds of isolationism, have been prerequisites for the formation of distorted pictures of the world and of themselves, confused ideas about their own strength, rights and limitations. We should therefore especially welcome the present efforts at mutual acquaintanceship, which naturally precede mutual respect and recognition, on the basis of which it is alone possible to build definite co-operation and relations

differing from those existing at present. The post-war atmosphere in the world, and especially the atmosphere existing during the cold war, although itself a result of the bad relations between the East and the West, the United States and the Soviet Union, has, for its part, made it more difficult to understand and appraise correctly the stands or intentions of one's own partner or opponent, because in doing so, each side has approached the other not as its partner with which it ought to live together — the reason why points of contact and areas of agreement are sought — but as its sure opponent or enemy who should be weakened, isolated and surrounded in order, at a given moment, to begin its final liquidation. Stands and intentions were appraised and policies pursued from that angle and that is why the world was often on the edge of an abyss, close to the point from which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to return.

Precisely in this way we come to the heart of the matter, to what makes this visit historically valuable and in a sense decisive, from the announcement that it could take place to its conclusion and beyond it. In so far as it is an expression of the realisation on both sides that the methods used hitherto in talks and relations lead nowhere, i. e., that they must lead to a general catastrophe, and that therefore joint attempts should be made to find some other way out, this visit marks a turning-point in the way of thinking and suggests the possibility of a turning-point also in relations between the two principal powers, as well as in East-West relations. As an expression of the efforts to find a way out from the intolerable state of the cold war, Khrushchev's visit at the same time is itself not a small effort to take this course in reality, as soon as possible and without hesitation. If there were no other facts, it would be sufficient to point to a far-reaching difference in the forms and methods of communication between the United States and the Soviet Union today, at the time of the visit, and those forms and methods that we have known until recently, such as threats by various generals' decisions of various military organizations and sabre-rattling, which were spreading depression and uncertainty throughout the world, including the countries on whose behalf it was done.

It is natural, and a welcome fact, that Khrushchev's visit should have contributed to things taking a different course and in particular to the basic stumbling-block among the big powers and the chief obstacle to relaxation, the question of disarmament, being moved from a standstill. It was not only moved, but it was done vigorously and on a broad scale before the supreme United Nations body, a fact which should go down as particularly promising and encouraging progress.

If it is too early to appraise or even to view the visit which has just ended in its entirety; this is even more the case with the raised question of disarmament. Selwyn Lloyd also spoke of disarmament a day before Khrushchev and there were many suggestions, moves and ideas on that question, only to be finally topped by the comprehensive and complex proposal of the Soviet Union. It is therefore necessary to study, measure and view the whole matter exhaustively and comprehensively. Among other things, in such a question it is important not only to what extent the proposal, taken in the abstract, is correctly or even ideally formulated, but also to what extent, under the given conditions, it is



ceptable to those whose co-operation is necessary in order to put its ideas into practice.

For the moment, however, the most essential fact is that disarmament was moved from a standstill and that it was done so happily that it promised full United Nations participation, co-operation and influence in a question which has until recently been in danger of being discussed exclusively between the two blocs. The atmosphere created by the visit casts a positive light on

the possibilities and motives in the sphere of disarmament, and the raising of this problem promises that after the fair manifestations and promising gestures, the world may soon achieve considerable advances and the long-awaited changes in a sphere in which the cold war had its roots. That is why these changes should, in the shortest possible way, lead to the final elimination of the cold war itself.

## Current Topics

# France and Algeria

## — The Content and Effective Scope of President Charles de Gaulle's Declaration —

by D. J.

THE CONFERENCE of African countries in Monrovia, in early August, and the meeting of the Arab League in Casablanca, in early September, foreshadowed generally intensified activity in Afro-Asian policy at the 14th Session of the UN General Assembly, especially on the Algerian question which was in the centre of those deliberations. The way in which the Algerian problem had been formulated in both cases indicated that it was proposed to pursue the same line in the UN as in previous years, with, probably, a more accentuated demand for negotiations between France and Algeria so that a solution might be found on the basis of recognition of Algerian independence, that is, the right to self-determination. That matters would follow such a trend, the only one likely to lead to a satisfactory formula for the interests of either side, was also implied by certain other, perhaps not too familiar, and even less mentioned, indications which, down to very recently, were taken into account to a considerable extent by many in the two countries who were trying to assess the time and point at which the two belligerent countries ought to meet and settle by agreement a dispute that has been proving so costly to both of them.

Since its formation last autumn, the Provisional Algerian government has been so intensively engaged in searching for a political solution that, due to inadequate information, it was liable to bring about occasional misunderstandings, and that from time to time, it also had to overcome certain difficulties of another kind. These are the difficulties which are encountered by many revolutions during their progress and in similar situations. Without renunciations, and without weakening the efforts on the home front, the Algerian Front for National Liberation has acted since the formation of the government so as to make it appear occasionally that it was giving priority to a political solution, as though it believed that nowadays there was not only a both-sided need for this, but also even greater and enlarged possibilities. Such a direction of Algerian policy, according to many, also found appropriate expression in the composition of the government, that is, in the fact that at its head came a personality which, in the eyes of either side, for different reasons, constituted a guarantee that a political settlement by agreement was indeed

desired and sought on bases safeguarding the interests and rights of both sides.

The change of regime in Paris and the emergence of Gen. Charles de Gaulle at the head of the country, under conditions which for the first time in the post-war history of France gave full freedom of action to a government, were interpreted on many sides as a good omen and an important precondition for a modified course on the Algerian question. This was all the more expected since the past course of exclusive settlement by armed force had proved both ineffective and unpopular, and the formation of the Algerian government under the described conditions provided an opportunity to alter course without risk of prejudice to the prestige of France or her new regime, without loss of face. Gen. de Gaulle has been fairly persistent in his proclamations and repetition that his only guiding idea is revival of French prestige and strength; his words frequently reveal his determination not to miss any opportunity to perform what he considers to be his life's mission in a country which the policy of post-war regimes had plunged into an ever-deeper and all-around impotence. Since, upon coming into power, he simultaneously became vested with most extensive powers enabling him to seek and accept any solution which would bring him nearer to a revival of national policy, it was believed on many sides that Gen. de Gaulle would adopt a course which his predecessors — either because their hands were tied or through their short-sightedness — neither would nor could adopt, as a result of which they faded from the political scene with their work undone. In the mean time, the country's difficulties mounted while the conflict in Algeria developed into a war of attrition with reduced chances for a „French“ military solution.

It is a familiar fact that until quite recently matters did not take the expected turn, and gradually the impression was born that even under the present regime French policy was not going to profit by the existing opportunities to put an end to the Algerian war by a realistic and bold stroke. That war, in the final analysis, appears as the principal cause of other troubles, too, as the original sin of the over-all policy which has brought that country into a position so pain-



ful both to itself and to many beyond it. Considerable time elapsed after the change of regime in Paris, the war in Algeria went on and gained in intensity, while in France herself, quietly but indubitably, a change was taking place in that distribution of forces which had ensured Gen. de Gaulle the full freedom of action in the first days after the change of regime. In the present phase, therefore, not infrequently sceptical questions are asked, and even open doubts expressed, regarding the degree of that freedom of action today. It was generally believed though, that President Charles de Gaulle had not said his last word on the Algerian question, so that, on the basis of assurances from Paris, many believed that the last word was still to come, that it would really be the last word, and a mighty word therefore. It was also believed that this demanded considerable preparations inside the country, which was perhaps not duly braced to understand and accept without undesirable convulsions.

Coming in the form of the recent declaration, in mid-September, after the de Gaulle-Eisenhower talks and directly on the eve of the UN General Assembly meeting, that long-pre-announced word is probably not the last, otherwise it would be disappointing and, more than the similar words of the preceding governments, it would mark the cause of Algerian-French agreement hopeless. Only if the recent declaration is not taken to be the last, but, as it were, the opening word, and if one may believe that after the reply of the Provisional Algerian government, there will be a gradual supplementing and correcting of the platform put forward in the declaration, only in such a case will it be impossible to say that French policy has missed a rare, perhaps the best chance to date. In such a case alone will it be impossible to say that, at the same time, this declaration has dangerously imposed on the other side the resolve to turn to a quest for decision in a way involving larger sacrifices on both sides and the threat of all sorts of repercussions and consequences.

The extended platform, it is true, cites the right of self-determination and promises the possibility of a settlement on the basis of that right. But it calls first for such a pacification of the country as, at least according to the text of the declaration today, presupposes the complete capitulation of the Algerian Front of National Liberation and the revolution. And second, determination of the time limits and other terms for the plebiscite remains entirely in the hands of France, whose word is the only guaranty that there will be respect for the free will, rights and interests of a people which in fact has launched a desperate struggle just because until now all that had for decades been trampled upon and denied.

It is difficult to refute the impressions of those inclined to appraise a platform so formulated primarily as a tactical move designed to achieve an immediate double-effect: to paralyze the United Nations Organization and its action and, in this context, to enable the U.S.A. and other French allies to adopt a stand on the Algerian question which, under past conditions, it was increasingly difficult to justify owing to the impossible French policy and the pressure of Africa and Asia.

It will not take long to obtain a clearer picture of whether a purely tactical move of the kind is involved here, or, simultaneously, a starting position from which retreats would be made during the course of negotiations. The way in which the Provisional Algerian government has received the long-awaited word of President Charles de Gaulle reveals a certain perplexity due to disappointment, yet it definitely reflects far more the maturity of its policy and the high sense of responsibility of the revolutionary government. In the face of the declaration and the momentarily adverse conditions in international relations for the Algerian cause, the Provisional government is drafting its reply with composure, unhurriedly and with due consideration for all the elements which might serve the cause of Algeria and a political solution. Its reply has not been made public yet, but, judging by all the known elements, it will make for clarification of the situation

and throw light on the meaning of the French declaration; it will provide the answer to the question as to whether the declaration really represents the last word or a starting tactical position.

If, in fact, it proves to be the last word and a position France will not depart from, then it will not be easy to ask and even less induce the UN General Assembly, continuing there where it left off last year, for the status of the dispute has not altered in any way, to say its own word and put its weight on the side of reason, justice and right. It will be difficult even if the Paris declaration marks the beginning of a phase of negotiations or talks with the Provisional government. This would be perfectly in accordance with the past decisions of the UN General Assembly and there would be no reason why the present Assembly should not recognize the fact too, why it should not support and assist the matter towards a conclusion which would correspond to the rights and interests of both sides, as well as to the general interests of peace.

The declaration about Algeria, as the last and irrevocable word from Paris, from a purely French point of view might prove, in due course, a blow to the efforts for French national revival, a major obstacle to the realization of the mission in whose service, in his own words, President Charles de Gaulle has placed himself. The fact that the declaration makes it possible for the main Western allies of France to accept it and, using it as a cover, perhaps assist the French war effort in Algeria more than heretofore, must not necessarily constitute an advantage of the declaration itself, nor a sure success of French policy. Contemplating the conditions and ways for the revival of French greatness, Gen. de Gaulle, on another occasion, concluded and wrote himself that one of the constant conditions was for France to safeguard and maintain a reasonable counterbalance towards its Western allies with the aid of suitable combinations elsewhere. Viewing the declaration about Algeria, in the light of this obvious truth, as a platform for the support of the U.S.A. and Great Britain in intensified French commitment in a war of attrition, one could not conclude that the stated axiom of French policy has been overlooked, or wrongly interpreted at the present moment. More plainly, it would not seem that the wisdom of French policy today should consist in safeguarding the support of the great Western allies in an undertaking which keeps weakening, tying down and exhausting France, but in that, by a correct policy in Algeria and otherwise, she should emancipate herself from dependence on their support and assistance. In connection with her demands from U.S.A. and Great Britain in recent months, when she mooted the question of her equality with them generally, and in the building of Western policy and strategy particularly, France has obtained satisfaction only in the demand for increased support for her Algerian policy. If the significance of this is that a solution will be sought by pressing the war effort, then the mystery of this single concession would be fairly clarified and its meaning would lie less in a search for one solution or another in Algeria and more in a restriction of a policy which, under Gen. de Gaulle, has caused some anxiety to the French allies. The attitude and bearing of Paris towards the reply of the Provisional Algerian government will probably clarify this question as well, showing the world what to expect about Algeria in the near future.

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## The Parliamentarians in Warsaw

by Dr Aleš BEBLER

THE ANNUAL convention of the Interparliamentary Union was held in Warsaw this autumn.

The very fact that this is the first time such a session has been held in the East, in one of the capitals of the eastern group of countries, and that hundreds of parliamentarians from about fifty countries, mostly from the west, both Americas, Africa and South-east Asia, convened there, is of incalculable significance. This meeting also epitomized the progress made in the sphere of international pacification and marked a step further in this process, not only as a demonstration of human solidarity and the desire for a definite pacification of international relations, but also by its effect on the participants themselves.

Allow me to say something many do not like to hear but which should nonetheless be said, in order to put matters concerning the Interparliamentary Union in their true perspective: both by its origin and spirit that prevailed the Union was, for decades and until recently, a western organization. It was created by several West European parliaments and essentially reflected the spirit and conceptions of these parliaments over the years. Contemporary reality, the conditions created after World War II and primarily the fervent desire and need of all peoples to preserve peace and to overcome the dangers that threaten it, gradually changed and is continuing to change the character of this organization. Groups representing the parliaments of seven countries of the Eastern bloc, including the USSR, were admitted to this organization (and received by the western majority). It was likewise broadened by groups representing the parliaments of countries which acquired their independence after World War II: India, Indonesia, Burma, Ghana...

The new needs and altered composition resulted in the ever stronger orientation of the organization as a whole towards the problems of peace and international co-operation as primary tasks, while problems pertaining to the internal system of countries accompanied by heavy stress on the West European brand of parliamentarianism (which was never preponderant) were relegated to the background.

This revolutionary change was never so obvious since the war as in Warsaw this year. In this sense the Warsaw session may be considered the most significant post-war session of the Union so far. This meeting made the Union a prime factor in contemporary international efforts to secure a lasting peace.

The atmosphere of the city where the conference was held, the atmosphere of a vast and populous city, razed to the ground during World War II and rebuilt from the ruins within the brief span of fifteen years, thus testifying to the energy and perseverance of a people profoundly sure of itself which must inevitably hate war with all its heart and soul, was not without influence on the character of the session.

The concrete results of the session reflect quite accurately the common desires of peoples from all parts of the world at the present juncture. The national groups of New Zealand and Haiti were admitted to the Union, thus marking a step further towards the universality of this organization. A resolution on disarmament was adopted in which par-

ticular stress was laid on the need for suspending nuclear experiments, and the idea of reducing armaments in a certain part of Europe (the Gaitskill and Rapatzky plans) was endorsed. A resolution on neutrality was adopted in which the Union for the first time registered the existence of a group of countries which are not aligned in blocs and noted that their policy "can play a constructive part in international affairs". A resolution on war-mongering propaganda was adopted in which all such activities, whether overt or consisting of untrue reports etc, were condemned, and the conclusion of an international convention on this question was recommended. It was also stated in this resolution that it would be desirable in the future to enable people to become acquainted with the real intentions of other countries and thus prevent the dissemination of intrigues, distortions and lies". Yet other resolutions recommend the removal of the barriers hindering the development of international trade and the education of youth in the spirit of "respect and friendship towards other people", and the promotion of international tourist exchanges as a means of assuring the closer acquaintance among peoples.

The only resolution which was not prepared beforehand at the session of the Commissions and Council of the Union in Nice this spring deserves particular mention. The proposal for this resolution, submitted by the Tunisian delegation, recommended the convocation of a round-table conference in which delegations of the colonial powers and colonial peoples would take part for the purpose of abolishing colonial relations. This proposal was adopted notwithstanding the fact that it was put forward by Tunisia, the immediate neighbour of Algeria...

Last, an improvised resolution welcomed the meetings of the big-power statesmen which took place or are scheduled for this year. To sum up: the session of the Union, on all major points, reflected the spirit which is gaining ever greater ascendancy in the world, that is, the spirit of peaceful co-existence of all peoples and countries irrespective of their internal systems.

On the other hand, it is only natural that there were several skirmishes at the session which only testified to the vestiges of cold war mentality and the genuine reasons for mistrust that still exist. These skirmishes also pinpointed the contemporary foci of international tension, such as the relations between India and China, Israel and the Arab world, France and Algeria. It would be surprising if this were not so, or even a bad sign for the Union as it would mean that this organization was not living in the world of reality but in a world of dreams or, worse still, in a world of high-flown phrases.

I believe that, at parting, most participants in the session of the Interparliamentary Union in Warsaw were aware that the Union has become something new, something more significant than it was before, that new possibilities are opening up before it and it is hence assuming greater responsibility before the international community.



# India on the Eve of the Third Five-Year Plan

by Dr Dušan PUHALO

**A**MONG the former colonies that acquired independence after World War II, India gained distinction not only by her well-known contribution to the struggle for world peace but also by adopting the most resolute course towards a planned economy in the sphere of her internal policy with the aim of emerging from the centuries-old backwardness and dependence on the economic plane as well. The ultimate objective of this effort, which is recognized and desired by all the progressive forces of this great country, is the creation of a socialist society.

India is nearing the final stages of its second five-year period of economic planning. The major economic undertakings and successes accomplished during the past ten years are generally known. The leading and most numerous political group in India, the Congress Party, has been engaged for some time already in the preparation of the third five-year plan. The Congress Planning Sub-committee is primarily responsible for these preparations. Within the framework of its activities, the Sub-committee organized a seminar for the discussion of all aspects of the Third Five-Year Plan in the town of Ootu (in the state of Madras). Apart from members of the government and many distinguished experts, the seminar was also attended by Premier Nehru and Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the Congress Party. The discussion at the seminar covered many important economic and socio-political questions in connection with the forthcoming plan and economic planning in general. The exhaustive material from this discussion, published in a special double issue of the Indian periodical "Economic Review", affords a fairly comprehensive idea of the aims set by the new plan and the means by which the Congress intends to accomplish them. Apart from surveying the tasks in various spheres of the economy and state policy, individual participants also raised the definition and conception of socialism under Indian conditions. We shall only mention the most important points of this extensive programme here now.

The fundamental objectives of this plan remain more or less the same as in previous one: the improvement of living conditions, especially of the broadest strata of the population which live at bare subsistence level at present; the assuring of maximum employment; an increase of productivity; a substantial increase of farm production and heavy industry; the reduction and eventual abolition of India's foreign economic dependence. These objectives, as well as other measures should enable India, as the participants in the discussion, stressed, to make a vast stride forward during the period planned towards the building up of a socialist society.

The seminar laid particular stress on two fundamental tasks of the plan: the increase of agricultural production and the growth of heavy industry. In her address, Indira Gandhi assigned priority to agriculture, or still more precisely food production. This is understandable in view of the fact that notwithstanding the conspicuous successes achieved during the previous five-year plan, the food situation is still fairly difficult in India today: food prices have risen steadily during the past few years, thus resulting in black market trade, illegal speculation and hoarding. Farm production, although notably increased, cannot keep pace with the soaring popu-

lation figures; the progress of industrialization has also resulted in a greater demand for food. Food imports do not provide a solution of the problem as import possibilities are limited. Consequently, the increase of farm production is not only the principal task laid down by the plan, but also a vital necessity for India — according to the planners, farm production must reach a level which will satisfy not only the growing needs of the population but also create surpluses from which one part of the resources for the financing of the plan would be obtained. In order to accomplish this, the rate of increase must reach 40 to 50 per cent within the period planned. This will of course require very heavy investment and a series of other measures, primarily the continuance of the agrarian reform, which was only partially carried out, and the strengthening of the peasant co-operatives which are very unevenly developed for the time being, and still insufficiently effective economically. The seminar devoted careful attention to all these questions.

The development of heavy industry, the second major task set by the plan, should help India to emerge from the status of an under-developed country and enable her economy to create the resources required for its further progress by itself. Apart from this it should contribute to the reduction of unemployment, which still represents a grave and chronic problem for India. Other measures are also foreseen for this purpose such as the promotion of home crafts and

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small-scale rural industries, the planning of extensive public works, etc.

The total investments required for the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Third Five-Year Plan are estimated at approximately 125 billion rupees; of this state investments will account for 90 billion and private investment for 36 billion. A great part of the discussion at the seminar was devoted to detailed study of the sources which will enable the State to embark on so vast an economic effort. The need for more severe and efficient taxation of all unearned income and for the implementation of resolute economic and administrative measures against dishonest speculators, black-market racketeers, etc has been stressed. It was also stated in this connection that foreign credit could only play a secondary role in the financing of the plan.

The plan calls for an average annual increase of 6 per cent in the national income (as against 4 per cent in the second five-year plan) and the creation of conditions for an 8 per cent annual increase by the end of the period planned.

In addition to the purely economic measures which should ensure the rise of production and productivity, the seminar also examined measures which should lead India towards a socialist economic and social system. Several speakers attempted to define the concept of socialism from

the standpoint of the Congress Party. Pragmatic attitudes closely linked to the more or less immediate practical objectives prevailed, although some participants in the discussion stressed the need to create a socialist ideology of the Congress Party based on Indian cultural tradition. The following measures which would be invested with a definite socialist character were mentioned: the expansion of the public sector of the economy so as to embrace all big enterprises; the reduction and eventual liquidation of all unearned income; the creation of the necessary conditions for workers' participation in the management of production and their sharing in the earnings of the enterprise derived from increased productivity; changes in the organization of economic and government authority aiming at the expansion of co-operation and decentralization of production; the reorganization of the educational system with a view to educating all citizens in the socialist spirit, etc.

All participants in the seminar stress that the plan cannot fulfill its aims fully unless the broadest masses of the people are engaged in its fulfilment, unless the people adopt it enthusiastically, and of their own free will, as their own common task. In order that the plan should really acquire an all-national character, some participants in the discussion proposed that it be placed on an „all-party discussion“ for approval and adoption by all the political forces of India.

## Solomon Bandaranaike

*The front pages of the entire Yugoslav press carried editorial commentaries and reports of foreign agencies on the tragic death of Premier Solomon Bandaranaike the eminent protagonist of non-alignment and economic progress of Ceylon and one of the most loyal followers of the Bandung principles in the sphere of the political and economic cooperation of all countries based on active and peaceful coexistence.*

„BORBA“: Deeply devoted to the principles of Bandung the late Premier Bandaranaike tirelessly strove to strengthen the cooperation of the Asian countries also by means of common economic efforts which obviously lag far behind the level reached in the sphere of political cooperation. It was Bandaranaike who gave the idea of an „economic Bandung“ proposing various concrete forms for the promotion of mutual economic ties, the coordination and unification of the economic efforts of the Asian countries.

We have known Solomon Bandaranaike as a sincere friend of our country who followed our development with unconcealed sympathies. He urged the further promotion of Yugoslav-Ceylonese cooperation which was strongly manifested during the visit of President Tito to Ceylon in January this year so as to attain to the level reached in the political sphere also on the economic plane. Although a relatively short time has elapsed since the visit of President Tito to Ceylon, many decisions pertaining to the expansion of cooperation formulated in the joint communique have already been or are currently being implemented, the late Premier Bandaranaike having doubtless contributed notably in this respect.

„POLITIKA“: After the proclamation of independence Solomon Bandaranaike — the tested fighter for the freedom and progress of Ceylon — became one of the

most influential political personalities, assuming the leadership of the country as Prime Minister after the secession of the United National Party and the big election victory of his new Freedom Party and the United National Front in 1956.

The arrival of Bandaranaike to the helm of the Asian island republic marked a turning point in the history of Ceylon; the former pro-western policy was abandoned and an active course charted in the struggle for independence, non-alignment in any of the existing blocs, and for international cooperation. The present policy of Ceylon — firmly based on the principles and ideals of Bandung is primarily the merit of Solomon Bandaranaike. He gauged the aspirations and mood of his country correctly having understood with rare insight and statesmanship where the real interests of Ceylon lie.

„VIJESNIK“: The foreign policy pursued by Solomon Bandaranaike logically ensued from his economic and social programme. He understood correctly that genuine independence is based on economic foundations. And conversely, if the foreign policy were not harmonized with the economic basis, nothing real and lasting could have been achieved. In the first place Ceylon must not belong to any of the existing big power blocs which only seek to further their selfish interests. The military-political arrangements also imply military bases, obligations and dependence from those who supply the funds or credit the expensive armaments deliveries. This logically leads to foreign dictatorship in the entire economy of a small country, so that the people become a mere pawn in the game. For this reason Bandaranaike led Ceylon along a road of independent policy, along the road of coexistence and friendship with all countries and peoples irrespectively of their system and particularly strove for the establishment of closer ties and solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries which have identical problems and ideals.”



# Halstein Doctrine

by R. KOZARAC

THE OPENING of the German Democratic Republic Consulate in the United Arab Republic has recently given rise to a concentric pressure by Bonn on Cairo in terms of ultimatum-like demands contained in the so-called Halstein Doctrine. Once again, the West German policy has shown the extent of its anachronism in a situation which increasingly revokes the cold war postulates.

The Halstein Doctrine, as is generally known, can be reduced to the following premises: first, the Government of the Federal German Republic will automatically sever diplomatic relations with any country which recognizes the German Democratic Republic; and second, the only country which is an exception in this respect is the Soviet Union with which the Federal German Republic will maintain diplomatic relations although the USSR recognizes the German Democratic Republic.

In the case of the Halstein Doctrine, the rule *nulla regula sine exceptione* appears as a contradiction in adjecto: based on an untenable "principled" consistency, the Halstein Doctrine in fact negates itself by a precedent (the "privilege" it accords to the Soviet Union), which indicates that what is subjectively declared no-existent (the German Democratic Republic), objectively does exist. This fundamental contradiction inherent in the Halstein Doctrine originates from the unrealistic thesis that there is only one German state and the risky idea that this arbitrary thesis may be defended by arguments of force and pressure.

This is an evident proof that the Halstein Doctrine is connected, as if by an umbilical cord, with the cold war era and its imperatives: the policy of bloc exclusiveness and arguments of force.

The objective untenability of the political groupations and the atmosphere characteristic of the cold war is being increasingly demonstrated by the realization on the part of the big power leaders that the relaxation of international tension is one of the imperatives of our time. Positive evolution in this respect has resulted in the most dedicated upholders of the cold war policy being driven to a position which will not be able for long to continue defying the strengthening of political realism in international relations. This is certainly one of the facts today confronting Adenauer and those in Bonn, who are of one mind with him.

The recent pressure on the United Arab Republic in connection with the opening of the German Democratic Republic Consulate in Cairo, however, is undoubtedly a negative pointer for all those who expect Bonn to develop a more realistic understanding of the harmfulness of its present situation, to its own interests as well. The urgent summoning of the West German Ambassador in Cairo to attend a consultation in Bonn and the threat that diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic will be broken, revived a page from the days of the cold war and brought the negative contents of the Halstein Doctrine to the fore. This reaction by Bonn, in a situation in which an establishment of diplomatic relations between the United Arab Republic and the German Democratic Republic was not even foreseen, but only the establishment of consular representations, was condemned even in the ranks of West Germany's closest allies. Re-

gardless of the pressure brought to bear on it by Bonn, the Government of the United Arab Republic exchanged consular representatives with the German Democratic Republic along the lines established in the talks between Nasser and Grotewohl last January, which is quite natural as the U.A.R. has rather developed economic relations with that country.

Quite naturally, world public opinion is in full solidarity with the principle that sovereign, independent countries should have the inalienable right to cultivate and develop relations with any country and that no third country should do anything to the contrary. Such acts could only be qualified as interference in internal affairs and an attempt to restrict international co-operation. The Halstein Doctrine, having originated in the period which is just suffering an eclipse, unfortunately amounts precisely to these two unpopular and discredited effects. Although the objective processes can be temporarily arrested with such artificial barriers as the Halstein Doctrine, it is also certain that such and similar barriers cannot stand the pressure of objective reality for long.

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# The Social Function of the Directors of Enterprises in the System of Workers' Self-government

by Zoran VIDAKOVIĆ

LATTERLY the attention of the Yugoslav public, and the interest of sociology, have been attracted by the changes occurring in the status and functions of the directors of enterprises in conditions of developed workers' management. This is not accidental since it is a question of phenomena which are highly characteristic of the state of the fundamental social relationships. The function of the director of an enterprise lies at the intersection of the mutual relationships of the enterprise and the social community, the individual enterprises and their trade associations, the bodies of workers' management and the state and social bodies exerting influence and exercising control, as well as the mutual relationships of the social groups in the enterprise, the managerial apparatus of the enterprise and the workers' management bodies the producers and the professional work executives. The parallel analysis of the analogous functions in an enterprise managed by the workers and an enterprise of the capitalist type, or an enterprise managed by the State, is no less important for an understanding of the differences in the fundamental social relationships.

At the time of the constitution of workers' management Yugoslav enterprises — in 1950 and thereafter — critics from outside, who denied the vitality of the new institutions and regarded them sceptically, were particularly doubtful of the possibility of combining the collective workers' management of enterprises with individual direction, the unity of the work processes and discipline indispensable in modern production and commerce. Some of them thought that the workers' councils would remain but an outward democratic form while the state, perforce, would continue to manage enterprises by way of directors holding a superior role in the management of enterprises. There were also those who assumed that collective management would preclude authority in production, that it would provoke chaos in the organization of work so that it would be impossible to realize the functions of conducting the processes of work. And lastly, a third category anticipated that the parallel existence of workers' management bodies and individual executives with autonomous powers would give rise to inevitable conflicts and contradictions in the management of production.

However, the experience of workers' councils has refuted these doubts unequivocally. The transitional phase in the development of mutual relations of the collective and individual bodies in enterprises is ending in the complete establishment of workers' management and the formation of the function of the director of an enterprise as a function of a new-type which is becoming an integral and essential part of the organization of workers' management. In order to achieve this, special practice had to solve these problems in particular:

— First, the way to ensure the superior role of the bodies of workers' management while at the same time preserving the autonomous responsibility of the director of the enterprise, who creates unity of direction of the entirety of the work processes; and

— Second, the way to achieve control by the state bodies and general social influence in the enterprise without coun-

tering the function of the bodies of workers' management by the function of the director as an independently responsible executive, while at the same time avoiding a hypertrophy of state control.

The most adequate forms for the solution of these problems have been produced by the direct practice of workers' management, and these have been adopted in contemporary Yugoslav legislation.

### CHANGES IN MUTUAL RELATIONS OF COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL BODIES OF ENTERPRISES

The mutual relations of the collective and individual bodies in enterprises have passed through several phases. At the very beginning, it was indispensable that the director's function should also retain certain state elements. According to the provisions of the Law of Management of Economic Enterprises of 1950, which were superseded later on, the director of an enterprise was responsible not only for the enforcement of the law and other prescripts, as well as the conclusions of the workers' council and the managing board, but for the enforcement of the ordinances and instructions of the appropriate state bodies. The director was appointed by the managing board of the higher economic association, which still retained strong elements of state management, or even by the appropriate state body, if the enterprise was not affiliated with the association. These transitional elements disappeared with the application of new methods of social planning which made for an ever fuller economic emancipation of enterprises and eliminated the direct intervention of the state bodies in their operation. Under such circumstances, the director became an organ of the enterprise, as a separate economic and social-legal mechanism, carrying out the independent economic plans and the decisions regarding the allocation of the resources issued by the workers council. As an organ in whose sphere of action the undivided executive function is centred, he sees to the lawfulness of the operations, being empowered to stay temporarily the enforcement of the unlawful decisions of the workers' council, pending the decision of the people's committee exercising control. He is appointed and relieved of duty by the people's committee, at the instance of a commission including the representatives of the people's committee of the commune and district, and/or the federal and the republican executive council, as well as the worker's council of the enterprise, the last appointing initially one-third of the representatives and subsequently one-half. The director of an enterprise loses the status of a state employee together with the powers characteristic of a state organ.

A further stride was made toward the end of 1957, when, on the basis of economic successes and the social self-assertion of workers' councils, the new laws on the distribution of the social product, on the assets of enterprises and on labour relations respectively expanded the powers of the working collectives in the management of the resources and funds. Particularly, this legislation vested the workers' council



with the right independently to allocate the bulk of the enterprise's income to expanded reproduction, joint consumption and the personal income of the workers, and independently to organize the competencies of the collective and individual bodies in the management of social affairs in the enterprise. Within these changes it is specially characteristic that the powers for the establishment and termination of employment relationships, for penalizing in connection with graver breaches of working duties, and decisions involving the rights from labour relations were entirely transferred from the director to the bodies of workers' management. The sphere of action of these bodies and the director as regards the issuing of economic decisions began to be determined by the internal regulations of the enterprise issued by the workers' council.

The application of the latest economic and labour legislation in the mutual relations of the collective and individual bodies in an enterprise has confirmed the most favourable expectations. Contrary to ill-intentioned expectations, expansion of the rights of workers' councils and their assumption of a superior role in the enterprise did not provoke a crisis in the conduct of the process of work and in the mutual relations of the executives and the workers' bodies. The more the authority of workers' councils over the production conditions and the work product became realistic, quicker the passing dislocations in the mutual relations of the individual and collective bodies disappeared. These dislocations originated, in the first place, from the objective contradictions of the elements of state and social management, and from the temporary difficulties of adjustment in the relations between these bodies, which were assuming fresh functions under complex circumstances. The firm establishment of workers' councils at the same time signifies stabilization of the relationships in the enterprise, promotion of its organization and establishment of authority in production, authority which bears no comparison with any authority known in enterprises of another type.

In conditions of a developed workers' management, there is not only no dissociation of the unified direction, but this function is strengthened on new social foundations. Studies made in different enterprises have shown that the director's activity is more effective and the authority of the measures of the operative leadership more complete in those enterprises in which the workers' council has become a decisive factor of management without restraints. Managing difficulties occur only in the enterprises in which bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies are provoking the resistance of the direct producers.

These changes can only be understood if one remembers the foundations upon which the new authority in production is being built. Expansion of the material basis of workers' management and the effective influence of the producers on the management of the means of production and the distribution of the social product lead to the establishment of the social responsibility of the whole collective and its bodies. This responsibility is not created artificially but ensues as another aspect of the direct material interestedness of the producers and the co-ordination of their interests with the general social interests. It is the first component of the new authority in production. The second component is represented by the changes in the organization of work in conditions of workers' management. Self-management gradually abolishes the contradiction between directive and executive work, with the result that the direct executors are materially interested in organizational work as a whole, in successful direction, effective management and a productive performance of the entirety of the work processes.

#### THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF DIRECTORS OF ENTERPRISES

Today, when the new social relationships in the enterprise are assuming fuller and more mature forms, it is possible to give a more accurate answer to the question

about the nature of the function of the director of an enterprise.

In contrast to earlier views, originating from a period when the elements of state management and workers' management in the enterprise overlapped, the director is not the representative of the state in the enterprise who shares managerial functions with the working collective and its bodies. On the other hand, the radical changes in the mutual relations of the collective and individual bodies in the enterprise do not amount to a disappearance of the director's independent function, nor his conversion into a technical executor of the decisions of the workers' bodies bearing no social responsibility for the work of the enterprise. If the director were the mainstay of state authority, then his function would be a relic of administrative management, and since the function of the state in the economy is withering away, the function of the autonomously responsible executive in the enterprise should also disappear as an obstacle to the realization of workers' management. Autonomous responsibility for the lawfulness of operations does not vest the director in any case with the capacity of a representative of the states. The director of the enterprise is not directly subordinate to state bodies, nor is he directly responsible to them for the performance of his duties. The state bodies cannot impeach the director if he has not taken measures for the carrying out of the economic plan of the enterprise, which is definitely his fundamental task, but the managing board or the workers' council can do so. The people's committee may relieve the director of duty in particular cases, at the instance of the workers' council, while state inspection in the economy may make such a proposal only if the workers' council has failed to do so. In certain exceptional cases, a director's relieving of duty may be applied as a special administrative measure. However, those are always cases in which the people's committee has been empowered to dissolve the workers' bodies and call new elections, that is, introduce a provisional compulsory management, so that the sanctions which may be applied towards the director have the same ground and the same characteristics as the sanctions which may be applied toward the bodies of workers' management.

Likewise the director's power to suspend the conclusions of the workers' council he considers to be unlawful, pending the decision of the people's committee, lacks the elements of the controlling power of a state body, and actually represents the power of an autonomous social body. This power is granted for purposes of safeguarding the proper functioning of the mechanism of self-management. Such a power may also be granted to other self-management bodies.

The circumstance that the director is appointed and relieved of duty by the people's committee is similarly cited as an argument of the conception that the director is the representative of state authority in the enterprise. The procedure of appointment and relieving of duty of the director with the participation of the workers' council and a special commission (composed of the representatives of the workers' council and the representative bodies in the commune and district) only constitutes a specific form of social control in the selection and relieving of duty of individuals with a specially responsible social function. The commission on appointments, composed of eminent representatives of the social community and, particularly, the community of producers, operates essentially as a social body. The meaning of this procedure is establishment of the autonomous responsibility of the independent social body in the enterprise.

The autonomous responsibility of the director can be properly understood only in the context of the social responsibility of the self-managing collective of producers and its bodies. The view that the director firstly represents the protector of common interests in the enterprise and the protagonist of social influence does not correspond to the



factual social relationships. If the workers' bodies were not that, then conflict would inevitably occur between those organs, leading by that very token to the director's conversion into an exponent of the interests imposed on the working collective from the outside. However, the practice of workers' management has shown that all social organs in the enterprise are the representatives and protectors of social interests in an equal measure. This is all the more the case the more the social responsibility of the direct producers as managers is consolidated on an enlarged material base.

Just as the director of an enterprise is authorized and required to examine the legality of the decisions of the bodies of workers' management, these bodies, too, are required to control the director's work. Even wider powers are vested in them for this purpose, for the control relates not only to the legality of operations, but the carrying out of the plan, the successful conduct of the work process and the operation of the enterprise, as well as to care for the general interests of society and the justified interests of the working collective. The workers' bodies are directly liable in default of control. Specially characteristic of the latest development of relationships in the enterprise is the strengthening of the controlling function of the workers' bodies, the establishment of an effective control of those bodies over the work of the director of the enterprise and the administrative apparatus in all domains of operation. These trends are also upheld by the latest legislation through the introduction of effective measures of direct, previous and subsequent control and general supervision by the workers' council.

The autonomous social responsibility of the director has the same social content as the social responsibility of the self-managing working collective and the workers' bodies. In the relationships between the director and the workers' council, it is a question of two autonomous social organs with particular rights in management who are empowered and required to control one another, being responsible within statutory limits, for the operation of the enterprise, for their own work and for the exercise of control. The principle of reciprocal control and autonomous responsibility of mutually-independent organs has a special meaning in the system of social management wherein the community entrusts the social collectives and bodies with the autonomous utilization and management of the material values belonging to society.

#### THE DIRECTOR'S FUNCTION IN THE REALIZATION OF WORKERS' MANAGEMENT

The director's function as an autonomously responsible social organ at the same time forms an integral and essential part of the organization of workers' management. It is equally wrong to contrast social management in the economy with workers' management, and the director's autonomous responsibility with the organization of workers' management. The powers of the direct producers in the management of social production and distribution of products and their responsibility constitute the determinant characteristics of social management of the economy. However, the organization of social management of the economy is not consummated in those elements, which, though determinant, are not also sufficient for the realization of social functions. They are complemented by other elements — such as the functions of the councils of producers, industrial trade associations and the trade union organizations — in the distribution of the income of enterprises, as well as by the functions of other social bodies in the economy, such as the bodies of social management in the chambers, the councils of consumers, the councils in the enterprises pursuing special cultural aims, and so on. All these functions, being the elements of the organization of social management in the economy, form an in-

dissoluble whole. Likewise the functions exercised by the workers' management bodies and those exercised by the director of an enterprise as an autonomously responsible social organ form a unified social organism of self-management. Only as an organic whole do they represent the complete organization of workers' management in the enterprise.

In social practice these principles are meeting with more and more distinct application. The director's activity is not limited to the conduct of the process of work, but is increasingly becoming turning also towards direct co-operation with and assistance to the workers' bodies in the accomplishment of their ever-more complex tasks. A special characteristic of the changes in the content of the director's functions in conditions of developed workers' management is that the director becomes the organizer of the conditions for the activity of the bodies of workers' management. Under his direction, changes are effected in the organization of the enterprise in accordance with the development of the bodies of workers' management and the modified social relationships in the enterprise. For this purpose it is essential that all functions of self-management have adequate instruments in the organization of the managing apparatus.

The new elements in the director's function testify to the unquestionable enhancement of its social importance. As the associates of workers' management, individual executives are afforded possibilities which they cannot have as the representatives of capital or the state. With the further development of workers' management, with the expansion of the self-managing mechanism in the enterprise, and with the participation of an ever-wider circle of direct producers in management the role of the director as the organizer of the conditions for the operation of this social mechanism is assuming a growing significance.

When one is familiar with the fundamental features of the new type of management of the process of work originating in conditions of workers' management, it is not difficult to appreciate the distance separating the function of the director of an enterprise managed by the workers from the function of the director of an enterprise managed by the state, or a capitalist enterprise. In a capitalist enterprise, the director's authority emanates from the supremacy of capital over labour, and, in conditions of purchase-sale of manpower, the relationships between the executives and the workers are converted into relationships of mastery and subjection. In an enterprise managed by the state, the director's authority emanates from the supremacy of the state over the producer. In this case the director acts as the transmitter of state authority, with the aid of which social production is organized and the distribution of the social product carried out. In either case contradictions are inevitable between the executives as the representatives of the state or capital and the direct producers, the director therefore being vested with powers whereby the state maintains a working collective in the enterprise by coercion (disciplinary authority, the right to engage and dismiss workers, deciding the status of the workers, etc.) In conditions of workers' management, though, instead of relationships of mastery and subjection, a relationship of producers and executives is developed towards the organizer of joint work who holds the necessary powers. A coerced working collective is replaced by a social organism in which the elements of free association of producers are more and more visible. Thus the need disappears for those directing the work process to exercise the rights emanating from the contradiction between the producers and the managers, both social functions being integrated in the self-management of the producers.





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# Yugoslav Attitude on...

SEPTEMBER 18

**Khrushchev's visit to the USA.** — The Yugoslav government always adhered to the standpoint that meetings of responsible statesmen may prove useful for the solution of outstanding international questions. It is in this light that we welcome the exchange of visits between Prime Minister Khrushchev and President Eisenhower convinced that these meetings, as stated by President Tito, will mark a turning point in the present international situation and create the necessary condition for the abatement of international tension and the settlement of contemporary problems".

**Reports on visit by President Eisenhower to Beograd.** — In connection with the rumours that President Eisenhower might visit Beograd on his return trip from Moscow this fall, the representative of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs stated that "President Eisenhower would always be a welcome guest in our country".

**Visit of President Tito to the USA.** — Requested to comment on the foreign press reports on an eventual visit of President Tito to the USA, the official spokesman replied: "I do not see that it is necessary to comment the rumours carried by various foreign newspapers in this connection".

**Visit of Canelopoulos.** — The official spokesman stated the following on the visit of the Greek Vice Premier: "I have nothing to add to the communique in which the results of the recent visit of the Greek Vice Premier Mr. Canelopoulos are stated clearly and exhaustively. I can only repeat that apart from contributing notably to the further development of friendship between the two countries this visit provided a fresh incentive for broadening cooperation in the economic and cultural sphere".

**On visit of Cuban Goodwill Mission.** — The mutual wish was expressed to open diplomatic missions in Havana and Beograd and approach the study of ways and means to benefit by the existing possibilities with a view to broadening economic, technical and cultural cooperation between the two countries."

**Yugoslav Goodwill Mission in Latin America.** — "In the talks with the responsible statesmen of the Latin American countries with which Yugoslavia does not have diplomatic relations the mutual wish to establish such relations was expressed. It was also noted in the course of the talks with the official representatives of Mexico, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and in the contacts with the leading economic representatives and businessmen of these countries that there are considerable possibilities for the promotion and expansion of economic cooperation."

**On visit of Japanese Parliamentary delegation.** — The talks between the Japanese delegation and the Yugoslav leaders were cordial and proceeded in the spirit of complete mutual understanding, thus contributing to the promotion of relations between the two countries. The invitation proffered that a delegation of the Yugoslav Federal People's Assembly visit Japan was accepted.

**Yugoslav-Soviet economic talks.** — These negotiations have not been brought to an end and pertain to the financial problems arising from mortgage dues payable on the utilised part of the credit obtained under the Yugoslav-Soviet investment arrangements which, as known, were cancelled in 1958.

**Yugoslav-Austrian relations.** — "I regret to say that the relations with Austria are not exactly the best of late. The reports on the outbursts in Graz are true. This matter is currently examined by the two governments through diplomatic channels"

**Return of Albanian Envoy to Beograd.** — Asked whether this should mean that a new Yugoslav Envoy to Albania will be appointed soon the official spokesman replied: "The Yugoslav Envoy Extraordinary to Albania was transferred to a new assignment and the appointment of a new envoy is pending. We wish and as we have always done so in the past to have good relations with neighbouring Albania".

*(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on September 18).*

## News Conference of US Secretary for Agriculture in Beograd

SEPTEMBER 25

*The US Secretary for Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson held a news conference on September 25 on the eve of his departure from Yugoslavia.*

At the beginning of his statement Secretary Benson declared that he had the honour of being received by President Tito. Secretary Benson stated that during the talks with President Tito a visit of the latter to the USA and a visit of President Eisenhower to Yugoslavia was also mentioned, and expressed the hope that these visits would take place although there are no definite plans for the present. Secretary Benson added that he had very useful talks with the Yugoslav leaders and expressed the hope that the successful cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture will continue.

Replying to newsmen's questions as to his impressions of the state farms and cooperatives visited, Secretary Benson stated: "I am very glad to have visited the Beograd farm combine, the peasant cooperative in Srbobran and to have had the opportunity of entering the homes of your farmers. I was able to become acquainted with many things, especially with the successes accomplished by the Yugoslav agriculture this year. I am impressed by the people, their appearance and behaviour which shows that they are industrious, busy producers who have embarked on the task of modernizing farm production. We have noted that an increase of farm pro-



duction was achieved and that Yugoslavia will no longer have to import wheat. We are pleased to hear this as the rise of farm production testifies to the growth of the economic potential of a country in general, which in turn means that it will be able to increase trade. I think that the good weather, the application of modern farming methods and mechanization and the research work done by your institutes all contributed in this respect. I have noticed that better sorts of seed were being used and that you have a very fertile soil for farm production.

Secretary Benson stated in concluding that there are distinct possibilities for the increase of trade in farm products between the USA and Yugoslavia.

## Documents

### Foreign Secretary Koča Popović Urges End to „Cold War“ in the UN General Assembly for universal co-operation between nations

*The head of the Yugoslav delegation, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Koča Popović, spoke within the general debate in the UN General Assembly. Koča Popović's exposition is published below.*

I BELIEVE that the past year has undoubtedly witnessed certain positive changes in the development of international conditions which can be regarded as highly significant. This is true, in the first place, for the most important domain of practical policy in the relations between the East and West. The fundamental characteristic of the international situation today, compared with the earlier condition, is represented by the inauguration of political negotiations between the great powers. This necessarily implies recognition of the appropriateness and, we hope, an acceptance by both sides of the method of mutual concessions. The positive effect of such a development has already become apparent in a certain improvement of the general atmosphere, in better mutual understanding and even in an actual mitigation of some tense situations. If these tendencies should become stabilized as a long-term course, leading to a whole series of political negotiations, including those between the highest representatives of a wider circle of countries, what we now are witnessing may constitute a turning-point in international relations.

An extraordinarily important event in this direction is unquestionably the visit of the Premier of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Khrushchev, to the United States of America. Allow me to quote here the words of President Tito a few days ago in welcoming this visit: „We expect that Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower, as the representatives of the two greatest powers in the world, will constantly keep in sight their responsibility before the whole world during their discussions, for it greatly depends upon them whether there be relaxation and pacification in the world and whether mankind will be able to view its future with more confidence“. Such an outlook demands qualitatively new efforts from us all.

These changes are the result of the realization that a continuation of the „cold war“ can, and, in the final analysis, must lead to an explosion, that it is in fact bringing us ever nearer to it. This realization in turn conditions and carries

with it the necessity gradually to abandon previous effort to approach the settlement of political problems on the basis of military criteria in the first place.

#### A WORTHWHILE RISK

ACCORDING to the logic of military reasoning, there is a single goal: to gain an advantage over the other side at all costs. And what are the results of the pre-eminent „militaristic“ treatment of political problems? Instead of the complete security which it was desired to achieve in this way, complete insecurity has been achieved attended by the ever-diminishing possibility of controlling and regulating the „spontaneous“ course of events.

The moment there is such a state of affairs that material military force plays such a role in international policy, and at a time when the distinction between offensive and defensive weapons is disappearing more and more, no ideology whatsoever provides by itself a guaranty against an outbreak of war. On the contrary, in such a situation the abuse of ideological arguments often results. These ordinarily become an instrument of daily policy intended to justify acts which are impermissible on the basis of universally adopted international principles.

It is maintained by some that balanced armaments between the great powers, or the existing blocs, represent the surest guaranty against an outbreak of war. We do not share such an opinion, in so far as it presupposes a continuation of the armaments race. But even if that assertion were valid for the situation today, the question arises as to how we can be certain that such a balance will be permanently maintained under these conditions. Obviously it can only be kept up if it has been „planned“, meaning if it is based on internationally agreed upon gradual disarmament. One may say that this implies the undertaking of a certain risk in the interval, but such a risk is worth taking because first, it moves along the line of consolidation of peace, in which agreement is already inherent, meaning a concerted limitation of the risk, and second, this risk is definitely incomparably less than the one inherent in a continuation of the „spontaneous“ armaments race.

There is a matter to which we have already called attention in certain circumstances, and here also, and which apparently is still lost on many people who are attached to the period of the „cold war“ in their way of thinking. It is not possible, namely, to desire a change for the better in the present state of international relations and at the same time insist that nothing be changed in one's own positions and in the „status quo“, not even the criteria on the basis of which the value of the desired changes shall be judged. Clearly these criteria must be different, more objective in the perspective of peace than they were in the perspective of complete mistrust and the cold war.

Likewise there are people who, confronted by new positive elements in international relations, maintain that the role and capacity of action of the United Nations is minimized by the fact that negotiations have been opened between the great powers. We do not share such a view, either, even when it is not an expression of the resistance of those who are still reluctant or unable to realize that abandonment of the „cold war“ has become urgent and necessary and that understanding between the great powers is an indispensable and important component part of such a major undertaking. We believe that the role of the United Nations in the world will not and cannot be minimized by a positive development of the situation. On the contrary, concrete international relations have always been reflected in the United Nations Organization. It has been unable to make its full contribution just because its peacemaking action was frequently blocked or restricted by the relations and antagonisms between the great powers.



As an illustration of such expanded possibilities, I would call what took place here in recent days when the representatives of the great powers, despite the fact that a Committee of Ten had been formed, considered it necessary to submit their disarmament proposals just here, before the General Assembly, thereby confirming that the United Nations Organization is the most competent political body to deal with this exceptionally large problem.

As you have seen, there is almost no one who would not now agree that the ending of the "cold war" and the establishment of universal co-operation between nations has become an imperative of the present time. Our Government has espoused this view for years past, striving that the necessary practical conclusions be drawn from this. We were guided by this in our attitudes on individual problems and proposals in the United Nations Organizations or outside. Such endeavours frequently met with criticism and censure on the part of those who, especially in an atmosphere of tension, demanded, above all, that a choice should be made between the one or the other bloc. That a movement for the latter has occurred is also largely thanks to the efforts of many countries which do not belong to military alliances and with which we have pursued specially active co-operation leading to a similarity of outlook on international problems. We see today that even the representatives of the great powers are increasingly advancing similar convictions about peace as an imperative and the sole choice. It is all the more deplorable that owing to unreasonable resistance, primarily of the U.S.A. Government, no positive solution has yet been reached regarding the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization, any treatment of this question even being excluded. Nonetheless even this year a broad discussion has taken place. I consider that this has further confirmed the arbitrariness, bias, harmfulness and untenability of such resistance. In so far as, the present Sino-Indian border dispute also being cited among other matters as a "fresh" argument in favour of that negative attitude, I wish to state that we have always considered that such disputes should be settled by peaceful means and by agreement. Even if there has been non-adherence to such constructive methods from the Chinese side, this only serves to convince us even more that, beside the principled aspect of the issue, the full membership of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization would only facilitate avoidance and settlement of such described and similar disputes.

Allow me now, Mr. Chairman, to pass to some matters which my Government attaches particular importance.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF DISARMAMENT

FIRST of all, there is disarmament. From the point of view of peace, this is of the greatest significance. The complicated nature of the problem stems from the fact of waging the "cold war", from the present distribution of forces of the military alliances, from the position of individual countries, from conflicts of different interests, from a large measure of mistrust, the understandable concern of different sides for national security in the present conditions, and so on. The technical aspects which have so far been dealt with in the first place certainly represent an indispensable element, but, in our opinion, not the main difficulties. We believe that they can be solved with comparative ease once favourable political conditions are realized.

Anticipating the continuance of the positive trend which, going by everything, has begun, we shall, of course, support every effort for the achievement of a global agreement. In this context, we welcome and support the radical proposal of complete disarmament which has been advanced here on behalf of the Soviet Government by Premier Khrushchev. By its radical nature, this is a question of an "extraordinary"

proposal. We consider, though, that we should not be perplexed and surprised by it, for the situation in which we find ourselves is also extraordinary because of the dangers inherent in it. We are also aware that the proposal may appear unrealistic if it is assumed that no radical improvement will occur on the wide front of other international relations. The conclusion that we draw from this, however, is not that disarmament should wait on account of the condition in other domains, but that we should immediately make efforts for a radical improvement of relations in all those other domains as well, so that a radical settlement of the disarmament question may itself become realistic within the foreseeable future. In fact, I do not see a more realistic possibility of testing the reality of such a proposal than through the practice of negotiations. Besides, if being realistic should mean continuing along the course which has systematically led the world to ever-increasing international tension, then I think it worthwhile that at least we try to be "dreamers".

That will not prevent us from limiting ourselves, in the course of negotiations, to the part which proves realizable in the first place.

Adhering to this point of view, we are giving full attention also to the proposal submitted here by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, considering that it, too, leads in the same direction. At all events, we consider it to be the duty of all of us to try to find what is common to these proposals so that the disarmament process may begin as soon as possible and, if feasible, that it may be fully completed as soon as possible.

As regards the question of test explosions, practical experience has already shown that this can be dealt with without delay and divorced from other problems. More than that, it has been shown that, to put it that way, the condition of suspension of explosions normally continues without any controlling body with or without real suspicion from any side that anyone might be breaking the obligation separately assumed by both sides regarding the suspension of explosions. I record the fact, I do not draw the conclusion, that control is unnecessary.

## "THINNED-OUT ZONES"

WE BELIEVE that in a healthy international atmosphere the so-called priorities would not have to be ascribed the same significance as before. We often had the impression that the pressing, absolutizing of various priorities was actually an expression of the subjective doubts regarding the possibility of any agreement and — in keeping with the existing circumstances and the fear lest one agreed to something prejudicial to oneself — an objective refusal, not to say prevention, of any agreement.

Another question which also strikes us as capable of solution in the immediate future is that of the establishment of a kind of "thinned-out zone" in Central Europe; particularly since the major political factors and considerable sections of public opinion in both Eastern and Western Europe have already pronounced themselves in favour of such a solution. The arguments advanced against this idea have failed to convince us because they are actually founded on narrow, professional, military reasoning. The point here is that in certain domains of very great significance for peace it is possible to deal with one part of the world disarmament question and simultaneously open up possibilities for a political settlement of great importance for the settlement of international relations. Here the "thinned-out zone" would not merely form part of disarmament. It is at least as much a part of the efforts to achieve in a Europe, now divided and simultaneously in conflict over the division of Germany, the most extensive basis of co-operation among peoples on either side of the line now separating them.

We have already stated our opinion before the Disarmament Commission as regards the role and composition of the Committee of Ten. Of course, there can be no question —



and we believe that no one entertains such intentions — of separating treatment of the disarmament question from the United Nations. Where questions like these are involved, and in the concrete situation, we regard the artificial countering of the Commission by the Committee as negative. Since agreement has been reached between the great powers it this case to resume negotiations, and since this problem cannot be settled without a disarmament agreement between them, we shall do our utmost, together with the rest, positively to influence and assist the work of the Committee. In other words, we consciously agree to the parity bloc-composition of this Committee because we consider that it is a practical measure, not discrimination against other members of the United Nations. That its role is temporary and specific and that the results to be achieved by it, with the constant care of all of us, will make not for the freezing of the bloc-division, but for its overcoming.

#### THE PROBLEM OF ASSISTANCE TO UNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

**E**VEN though the significance and substance of the question has been dimmed in large measure by the conceptions emanating from the "cold war", it seems to me that today almost all are agreed that one of the fundamental reasons for and sources of this instability should be sought in the economic backwardness of a large part of the world, as well as that a correct solution of this question would be in the interest both of the recipient countries and the more developed donor countries. However, much as we are agreed on this, it is obvious that we have not yet succeeded in drawing the apposite, indispensable, practical conclusions. In any case, there is a grave discrepancy between the recognition of the importance of this question and the actual concrete measure for its solution, whether in the matter of providing the necessary resources or in seeking out the most suitable forms of extending assistance.

For all these reasons, and without negating the positive role the mentioned programmes will have, we are in favour of the main effort of assistance being transferred more and more to the United Nations Organization. We considered, and still consider, that UNO should have at its disposal a strong material instrument for practical action in dealing with these problems. This is the reason why we have insisted, and still insist, so much upon the early establishment of SUNFED. I have laid so much stress here upon the urgency and significance of the problem also because we are conscious that progress towards its solution can only be made with the full participation of the great powers. Their consent as regards both the resources and the forms of assistance is essential here, and, of course, it cannot be achieved by outvoting. Perhaps the present favourable international situation will make it easier for them to grant such consent.

We are conscious that others whose starting positions are considerably weaker than ours will be experiencing greater difficulties than those we encountered. This, I believe, is an additional reason in favour of the theses we have advanced here regarding the need for urgent, organized and effective assistance to the countries in need of it.

Another aspect of the same question of unequal economic development and undeveloped countries is the colonial question. Essentially this is the same problem, only it is a question of peoples which still are even without their formal freedom and independence. It is true that the trusteeship system is being liquidated at an ever-quicker rate by the fact that an increasing number of trusteeship territories are joining the family of independent countries. I believe that this lends all the more importance to the problems of non-self-governing territories. The more the number of independent coun-

tries expands also in Africa, the last continent on which colonial relationships are widespread, the more many problems of non-self-governing territories will assume international significance.

In this respect, the Algerian problem, which is to be dealt with at this session, occupies a special place. It is a question of the legitimate armed struggle of the Algerian people for its freedom and right to self-determination. The very duration of the war proves this, just as it proves the untenable nature of the monstrous policy of so-called pacification. Such a state of affairs is having a negative and dangerous effect on international relations even beyond the borders of North Africa.

We still consider that the only proper course is negotiations, on the basis of equality, between the representatives of both belligerent sides. If the recognition of the right to self-determination of the Algerian people contained in the recent declaration of the President of the French Republic marks, besides the unquestionable value it possesses as such, a readiness for more realistic appraisal of the conditions indispensable for an equitable settlement by agreement, this should also presuppose a readiness to abandon the policy of "pacification" by force which is obviously incompatible with the recognition of the mentioned right.

## JANATA

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# PRESIDENT TITO SPEAKS...

During his visit to the People's Republic of Montenegro, President Tito spoke on several occasions about the problems of economic development of that republic, citing the great successes achieved by it over the last few years. President Tito also dealt with the political developments in the world. The following are excerpts from President Tito's speeches referring to the present state of international relations.

## President Tito's Speech in Nikšić

ALLOW me now, comrades, to say a few words about the consequences of the successes attained in our socialist country so far. Today in our country, even the most obstinate opponents of socialist development, vestiges of the past, are aware that only under this system was it possible to make such an enormous stride forward. They, of course, do not speak of that widely and do not broadcast the fact, but they discuss it among themselves. Outside our country, in many countries in the West, they recognize that in one decade we have accomplished what it took others five or six decades to achieve. I think there is no country in the West in which this is not recognized.

"And yet, although many admire our successes, in some of the eastern countries, and particularly in our neighbourhood, there are certain leading men who, for purely propaganda reasons do not recognize that. They say that we are revisionists, that we have introduced the spirit and theory of revisionism into industry, that we have ruined our agriculture, that this is revisionism, and so on. I say that these people, who reproach us with having introduced revisionism into our agriculture and industry, ought to come here and see the results of that "revisionism". If one takes a look at our agriculture, which precisely this year made an enormous leap forward thanks to the modern methods which we have introduced, one can appreciate how much further ahead our country has gone, not only compared with those who were left backward, but even on a world-wide scale. For example, one of our districts, the Osijek District, has produced such quantities of market surpluses as the whole of Albania could not produce. I make this comparison because the Albanian leaders always "rub us against the grain". The Osijek District alone has 220,000 tons of market surpluses and they in Albania cannot produce that. That "revisionism" is reflected in this enormous leap forward in agricultural production. We all know this, but they nevertheless deceive their people and continue to slander us. Furthermore, they say that we have no livestock, even though we have doubled the number of cattle.

"You see, comrades, instead of being glad that a people, which suffered so much in its past and which made enormous sacrifices during last war, has taken such a huge step forward in such a short time, they tell untruths. Very well, if they consider us revisionists from the theoretical point of view — and we consider them dogmatists — practice will decide what socialism consists of: not only theoretical postulates, but theory which is tried out in practice. We used out various postulates in practice and wherever they did not prove to be good, we went along our own path confirmed by our practice. If they want to follow their path — let them go, we shall see how far they will get. I believe, comrades, that they will nevertheless gradually, little by little,

come over to our way and take certain things from us. True, they will say not they have taken them from us, but that they came to that realization on the basis of the correct implementation of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, they will not say they did not come to that on the basis of the implementation of Marxism-Leninism in practice, what we have already done. They need not say they have taken these things from us, we do not mind that; we wish them to be successful, too. We do not wish the Albanian people to lag behind us, to starve. We wish the Albanian people much good, but we must say openly that we cannot wish much good to some Albanian leaders who do not wish us well.

## Attacks on Yugoslavia Cannot Divert Her from Path of Creative Implementation of Marxism-Leninism

"It was not my intention to speak of this here today, comrades, for we decided to be as restrained as possible and not to reply to all attacks. But the Albanian leaders somehow keep attacking us. Several days ago they were celebrating an anniversary associated with the work of the Albanian Communist Party, which was, in fact, created by men who are standing here today, and the main subject at that celebration was an attack on Yugoslavia, on the Yugoslav "revisionists" and on the men who were engaged in the creation of that party.

"I therefore had to react and to say something. Hisni Kapo, who was the chief speaker, spoke of the way the Yugoslav revisionists, headed by Tito, had constantly worked to bring about the downfall and destruction of the Albanian Party and their beloved leader, Enver Hoxha. This is an ordinary slander, for we have never worked against the Albanian Party. On the contrary, we have endeavoured to maintain the best possible relations and to co-operate as closely as possible with it. In connection with this celebration, Enver Hoxha sent a letter in which he also attacked the Yugoslav "revisionists". Thus, after a certain period of quiet, the Albanian leaders have again been the first to make themselves heard. That is why we are also answering them the first on this occasion.

"We believed that people would eventually come to their senses and see that it is absurd to aggravate matters and create bad mutual relations. We believed that. We have normal relations with other countries. Our relations with the Soviet Union are good, and likewise, more or less, with many other eastern countries. But the Albanian leaders have again started attacking us and I wonder whether this is only their affair or not. If this is not only their affair, then this is a wrong policy. We cannot be diverted from our path by constant repetitions that we are revisionists. We are revisionists if people who revised what they felt had been wrong in their past practice are considered as such. We altered laws, we altered regulations and our practice has incessantly been in a process of lively changing — for the better. This is revision, but not theoretical, as they would like to prove. This is the living practice — we are Marxists, we are Leninists, and we know how to apply this theory in practice creatively and non-dogmatically, not as if waiting constantly in one spot for manna to fall from the sky.

"I regret to have had to speak of this here today. But I had to do this lest those who think we shall keep silent in the face of such attacks because of some rotten attitude of compromise should be deceived. No, we shall reply to their untruths and attacks, but we shall demand of them that they also contribute towards our living peacefully side by side.



If they do not want mutual help, so that we may be glad over their successes and they over ours, let them contribute towards our living peacefully side by side. It is our aim to improve relations with all countries, Albania included, in every respect. We have proved it on more than one occasion, and we have also shown that we know how to be patient. We have tolerated many slanders, we have passed over the harshest insults and our language was not like theirs. It was different, but it was nevertheless often more to the point than their slanders and abuses. This much, comrades, I wanted to say on this question.

#### *Even Minimum Positive Results of Exchange of Visits between Khrushchev and Eisenhower Will Be Vigorous Step Forward in Improvement of Internal Relations*

"Allow me now to say a few words about the present international situation. Today, the whole world is in a state of lively expectation. Comrade Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister has been invited and has gone to visit America. We gladly welcomed that visit, for we saw a great thing in it, we saw a certain turning point again being reached in international relations, that is, in the "cold war".

"That is why we are vigilantly following the entire stay of Comrade Khrushchev in America and the talks he is having there, hoping that during their talks, Comrade Khrushchev and Mr. Eisenhower, as representatives of the two biggest powers in the world, will constantly bear in mind their responsibility before the whole world. For it is mainly up to them whether alleviation and relaxation occur in the world and whether mankind may regard its future with greater confidence. We expect much from these talks. Of course, it will not be possible to attain everything at once, but much will be accomplished if they decide that an end should be put to the international tension which has the character of a cold war, if they at least come to agreement on the smallest matters. Even that would be a vigorous step forward.

"It is difficult for these matters to be solved at once. They should be settled in a wider circle, let us say, in that of the top-level representatives of a number of countries, within the United Nations. But nevertheless, Khrushchev's tour of America and the subsequent visit to be made by Mr. Eisenhower to Moscow give us much hope and we wish they could make it possible for mankind to be relieved from its present worries, so that people may devote themselves to creative work and that better relations may be established among countries. I say this on behalf of all the peoples of Yugoslavia which, I feel confident, will welcome what I have said, for this is our policy. We have always gladly welcomed every such meeting and such talks when they did not have the character of agreements at the expense of others, but were concerned with the interests of all the peoples in the world. (Applause).

#### *Yugoslavia Has Earned Great Confidence of Asian and African Countries To Which She Is Tied by Exceptionally Friendly Relations*

"When today we look at Yugoslavia's relations with other countries, we can say that we do not have had relations with any country with which we maintain diplomatic relations. We have very good relations with all countries in the West. We have exceptionally good and friendly relations with the countries of Asia and Africa, which I had the opportunity to visit and see. Strong economic exchanges have begun with these countries and they regard us with great confidence. Our people has earned the confidence of these countries by its unselfish struggle against colonialism, by its foreign policy and by its support for those peoples of Asia and Africa, which still have the misfortune to be under the yoke of colonial powers.

"Our country has always been and will be on the side of these peoples, on the side of those who fight against colonialism, regardless of this having sometimes had negative consequences for us. Our foreign policy is firmly based on principle and we must back that struggle, because the momentary interests of our country are not so important.

"On this occasion, I would like to underline that we have reached such a high degree, such a high level of development, that we can indeed boldly look forward to a great and bright future. From this spot, we wish to say to all peoples, both those in the East who have a system similar to ours, that is, the socialist system, and those in the West who have a different system, that it has been proved that different systems need not be an obstacle to co-operation on many questions, especially in the economic field, in which that co-operation can be of benefit to both sides".

## **President Tito's Speech in Ivangrad**

"TODAY, we can regard the further development in the world with much more optimism than two or three years ago. Throughout the post-war period, during the period of the "cold war" between the blocs and pressure against Yugoslavia, we were neither sitting idly by nor saying: "Why should we work when there may be war any moment?" We worked and built as if there would be peace for a hundred years and we were not mistaken. From now on, we shall be able to get down to work with still greater optimism, for the ray of light which mankind regards as its salvation, hoping to be spared the greatest catastrophe of another world war, is already appearing.

"You see, comrades, we have for several years been saying and declaring that it is possible to prevent war by peaceful solution of controversial issues, that peaceful co-existence between states is both possible and necessary — not passive but active co-existence, not inert existence but active co-operation between states. We have persistently affirmed that the different social systems in the world can exist side by side if they have a proper understanding for each other, if there is an awareness that man need not always look after his own interests alone, but those of the others as well, if such international co-operation as would be detrimental to no one is realized.

"This is the only salvation, the only possibility for humanity to live and work peacefully. We consider it wrong, as some people thought, to wait to the fall of capitalism and because of that to wage a cold war against it constantly. For in this way energy and funds are wasted and the development of socialist countries hampered. Instead of the "cold war", competition between these two systems is certainly better. This competition will show which social system is better — the capitalist or the socialist. If we work better and raise the standard of living sooner, if we realize the full extent of democracy for every man, not an abstract democracy, but democracy which would have a strong economic basis, then we need not fear that the capitalists will overtake us.

"Capitalism is really on the decline, its transmutation is historically necessary. Everything changes in life and in this change society also changes, and even the capitalist society cannot but be changed in the long history of humanity. Now, it is the turn of the new socialist, social system, the new way of life which is increasingly apparent in our country also. In Nikšić, I already said that in our country we have accomplished in ten years what took fifty years in other countries. Every man in our country feels satisfaction when he sees the results of his work and efforts, when he feels the benefit both for himself and for the whole community.



"We have already said that the only way to achieve relaxation in the world is for a summit meeting of various leaders from the most responsible and biggest countries to be held, but this has not come about. We still insist, however, on that meeting. What has now come about is only a meeting between representatives of the two biggest countries in the world — between the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Comrade Khrushchev, and the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower. Yesterday I spoke of how warmly we welcomed that meeting, for the strongest conflict was in fact between the United States and the Soviet Union. Every personal contact must bring at least something positive with it. If there is discussion at great distance, elements which are more likely to cause separation than rapprochement, are always coming into the picture. When they come into personal contact, people can understand one another more easily, they can talk more easily, the attitudes and needs of others are understood more easily.

"Today I read the speech delivered by Comrade Khrushchev in the General Assembly of the United Nations. In a long speech, he submitted a number of proposals on how international conflicts should be settled so that relaxation could be brought about in the world and war prevented. He put forward a maximum programme which I consider ideal. Whether resistance will allow it to materialize is another question. When the complete disarmament of all countries, the annihilation of atomic bombs, is called for, when a ban on all atomic weapon tests and the destruction of guided and other missiles are demanded, when it is demanded that atomic energy be used solely for peaceful purposes and for scientific exploration of outer space, then it must be said that this is an ideal proposal. All honest men who want peace cannot but welcome that proposal. Some people think this is only a manoeuvre. Let it only be a basis. Why should the responsible leaders not meet, talk over this proposal, see what can be made of it and agree at least on part of it? Khrushchev himself, who submitted this proposal, certainly does not believe that this could be achieved at once. This would be ideal.

"Some people say that these proposals are not realistic. However, there is a realistic need for all this to be achieved. It is realistic that mankind is afraid of war and fears an atomic war. It is realistic that people are afraid of atomic tests, afraid of the danger which contaminated air represents both to life and vegetation. That is why I can say from this that there is no peace-loving man in the world, and especially in Yugoslavia which has constantly made efforts towards bringing about relaxation in the world, who would not agree with Comrade Khrushchev's proposal. We shall always welcome such constructive proposals with the greatest enthusiasm and support them.

"Of course, it can be ascertained very easily whether this is a manoeuvre or whether there is a wish to arrive gradually at a solution so that the big powers, which are most responsible for peace in the world, may find a common basis for a gradual solution of individual international problems.

"I welcome Khrushchev's proposal to the effect that the United Nations should be the forum in the world to which greater rights and responsibilities should be given in settling international disputes. All these are matters with which we agree. Of course, if Comrade Khrushchev or someone else were to do something not in line with what he said, there would always be enough time to criticize that. Now, we welcome these proposals and wish that relaxation may come about in the world, for then we shall approach the solution of our daily tasks more quietly and calmly and will work more easily for the benefit of our peoples. Likewise, it will be easier to achieve more constructive international co-operation than has existed until now".

## Meetings and Talks

**CEYLONESE MINISTER OF TRADE ARRIVES** — Richard Gothabaya Senanayake, Minister of Trade of Ceylon, spent a few days in Yugoslavia as the guest of Federal Executive Council member Ljubo Babić. Mr. Senanayake visited the Zagreb International Fair and the "3rd May" shipyard in Rijeka on this occasion.

**SESSION OF EUROPEAN ZOOTECHNICAL FEDERATION.** — A three-day session of the European Zootechnical Federation, which was attended by about one hundred delegates from Yugoslavia and seventeen European countries, was held in Beograd. The meeting was welcomed by Federal Executive Council member Slavko Komar on behalf of the Yugoslav government.

**ARRIVAL OF RICCARDO LOMBARDI.** — Riccardo Lombardi, member of the Directorate of the Italian Socialist Party, arrived in Yugoslavia. This visit took place within the programme of mutual co-operation between the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and the Italian Socialist Party. The Italian socialist leader held talks with distinguished representatives of the Alliance and delivered several lectures on the Italian labour movement.

**CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MARITIME LAW** — The twenty-fourth conference of the International Committee for Maritime Law, which was attended by about two hundred representatives from 21 countries, was held in Rijeka. The conference was inaugurated by Committee Chairman Albert Lilar, Vice-Premier of Belgium. President Tito sent a message of greetings to the Conference.

**US SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURE VISITS YUGOSLAVIA.** — Ezra Taft Benson US Secretary for Agriculture arrived in Beograd on September 24. Secretary Benson spent two days in Yugoslavia as a guest of Federal Executive Council member Slavko Komar. During his stay Secretary Benson conferred with Yugoslav leaders and visited the state farms near Belgrade.

**VISIT OF BELGIAN MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.** — Joseph Albert de Vleschauer the Belgian Minister of Agriculture visited Yugoslavia. Minister Vleschauer held talks with Yugoslav economic leaders and toured the main economic centres.

**DELEGATION OF GREEK DISABLED VETERANS VISITS YUGOSLAVIA.** — A delegation of the General National Confederation of Disabled Veterans and the Greek Federation of the Wounded arrived in Belgrade on September 22. The members of the delegation who are guests of the Veterans' Federation and the Federation of Yugoslav Disabled War Veterans will spend ten days in this country.

**PRESIDENT OF GHANA PARLIAMENT ARRIVES.** — Augustus Molade Akiwumi, President of the Ghana Parliament, arrived in Yugoslavia on September 23. President Akiwumi spent three days in Yugoslavia as a guest of Petar Stambolić, President of the Federal People's Assembly. In the course of his stay President Akiwumi visited several economic enterprises and cultural and scientific institutions, and discussed the possibilities for the expansion of co-operation between Ghana and Yugoslavia.

**BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC FUNCTIONARY IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — Mr. Thores, member of the Economic Committee of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean, Admiral Sir Alexander of the Federal Chamber of Foreign Trade. The distinguished Brazilian guest also conferred with Ljubo Babić, President of the Foreign Trade Committee.

**DISTINGUISHED POLISH GUESTS IN YUGOSLAVIA.** — The Vice President of the Polish Economic Council and Professor



at the Faculty of Economics in Warsaw, Borowski visited Yugoslavia as a guest of the Institute for Social Science in Belgrade. Professor Borowski studied the Yugoslav economic system on this occasion. The President of the Polish Academy of Science, Dr. Tadeusz Kotarbinsky, also arrived in Yugoslavia recently. He visited several Yugoslav cities and gave a number of lectures.

## Negotiations and Agreements

**YUGOSLAV-FRENCH TRADE TALKS.** — The Yugoslav-French trade talks on the conclusion of a regular trade agreement for 1959–1960 were opened in Belgrade on September 15.

**YUGOSLAV-CEYLON CREDIT ARRANGEMENT.** — The credit negotiations held in Belgrad between the governments of Yugoslavia and Ceylon ended on September 18 with the signature of an agreement on the mode of utilisation of the 5 and a half million pound credit made available by Yugoslavia to Ceylon for the purchase of equipment in this country. The relevant instruments were signed by Ljubo Babić, President of the Foreign Trade Committee, and Stanley de Soyca, Minister of Finance of Ceylon.

**YUGOSLAV-SUDANESE TRADE TALKS.** — Talks were held in Khartoum between the Sudanese Minister of Industry and Trade, Ahmed Irwa, and the Yugoslav Ambassador in the Sudan, Živadin Simić, on the implementation of the economic agreements recently concluded between the two countries. The possibilities of setting up a joint committee which would foster the implementation of the agreement were examined.

## Chronicle of Political Events

**September 17** — President Tito arrived in Kotor on a visit to the People's Republic of Montenegro. While in the Bay of Kotor, the Yugoslav President attended the traditional nocturnal pageant. On his trip through Montenegro, President Tito called at Bar, Ulcinj, Budva, Cetinje, Titograd, Nikšić, Andrijevića, Ivangrad, Bijelo Polje and Pljevlje. President Tito spoke on problems pertaining to the development of Montenegro on several occasions and gave a positive assessment of the major successes achieved so far. He also dealt with various topical foreign political problems. (Excerpts from President Tito's speech are published in our regular column „Documents“). On his return trip from Montenegro, President Tito visited Zlatibor, Titovo Užice, Užička Požega and Čačak, arriving in Belgrade on September 21.

**September 19** — A formal academy commemorating the seven fallen secretaries of the Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia was held in Belgrade. Veljko Vlahović, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, spoke on this occasion and evoked memories of Zlatko Šnajder, Janko Mišić, Mija Oreski, Paja Mrganović, Josip Kolombo, Pera Popović and Josip Debeljak who were killed in clashes with the police during the 1929–1931 period.

**September 27** — The people of Kragujevac and Šumadija celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia by an impressive meeting in Kragujevac. Petar Stambolić, President of the Federal People's Assembly and member of the Executive Committee of the Central

Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, addressed the meeting and recalled the struggle waged by the working class and Communist Party of Yugoslavia both against the pre-war dictatorship and for the creation of the new independent and socialist Yugoslavia. He stressed that the League of Communists was an irreplaceable force which guides the socialist development of Yugoslavia and which had not assumed the role of some supra-social force, being an integral part of society.

## Diplomatic Diary

**September 15** — Josip Djerdja was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the Federal Executive Council.

**September 25** — President Tito received Augustus Molade Akiwumi, President of the Ghana Parliament.

**September 25** — President Tito received the US Secretary for Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson.

## Our New Contributors

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## „THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS“

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